



-8 JUN 82 21 51Z
Department of State

**INCOMING
TELEGRAM**

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NOD031

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ACTION NODS-00

BEIRUT 04025 002131Z

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INFO OCT-00 ADS-00 /000 W

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PM AMEMBASSY BEIRUT

TO SECSTATE WASHDC NIACT IMMEDIATE 0030

AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV NIACT IMMEDIATE

AMCONSUL JERUSALEM NIACT IMMEDIATE

INFO AMEMBASSY DAMASCUS IMMEDIATE

SECRET BEIRUT 4025

NOD18

TEL AVIV FOR HABIB

E.O. 12065: RDS-1,3,4 - 6/8/12 (DILLON, ROBERT S.) OR-M
TAGS: MILI, MOPS, PEPR, PINT, PINS, LE, IS, SY, US
SUBJECT: ISRAELI INTENTIONS; CONVERSATION WITH FONMIN FUAD BUTROS

1. (S-ENTIRE TEXT)

2. I WENT TO SEE FONMIN BUTROS AT 1730 HOURS JUNE 8 TO
REVIEW SITUATION. AS HE HAD REQUESTED IN LAST CONVERSATION
HE TALKED ABOUT ISRAELI POLITICAL OBJECTIVES. I AM REPORTING
THE CONVERSATION EXACTLY AS IT OCCURRED. IT SHOWS BUTROS
THINKING OUT LOUD AND GIVING HIS PRELIMINARY THOUGHTS ON
SOME OF THE POST INVASION SCENARIOS UNDER CONSIDERATION.

3. WE FIRST DISCUSSED POLITICAL OBJECTIVES BEING PROPOSED
BY ISRAELIS IN RETURN FOR THEIR WITHDRAWAL, AS REPORTED IN
RECENT RADIO BROADCASTS. THESE WERE:
A) SYRIAN WITHDRAWAL FROM LEBANON; B) A RETURN OF
AREAS OCCUPIED BY ISRAELIS TO LEBANESE SOVEREIGNTY; C) AGREE-
MENT THAT ARMED PALESTINIANS WOULD NOT RETURN TO THAT AREA
AND, D) A 40 KILOMETER SANITARY ZONE IN SOUTH, PRESUMABLY

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LIKE PRESENT HADDAD ENCLAVE.

4. I THEN TOLD BUTROS ABOUT MY CONVERSATION AN HOUR EARLIER WITH GEN., CALLAGHAN, WHO HAD STOPPED AT RESIDENCE ON WAY INTO BEIRUT FROM DAMASCUS. (CALLAGHAN HAD COME BY ROAD BECAUSE HE WAS NOT ABLE TO GET TO BEIRUT BY HELICOPTER WITH GENERAL EYTAN WHO SEEMED TO BE FEELING HIM OUT ON THE POSSIBILITY OF AN EXPANDED UNIPIL OR PRESENCE OF AN MFO-TYPE FORCE IN LEBANON. EYTAN WAS NOT SPECIFIC BUT SEEMED TO BE THINKING OF UNIPIL FORCES AS FAR NORTH AS SIDON WITH PERHAPS AN ENLARGED HADDAD ZONE SOUTH TO THE ISRAELI BORDER. CALLAGHAN HIMSELF WAS APPARENTLY EQUALLY NON-SPECIFIC IN HIS ANSWERS, TELLING EYTAN THAT THERE WAS NO WAY UNIPIL COULD PLAY A USEFUL ROLE WITHOUT A CLEARCUT MANDATE, ENLARGED FORCES, AND THE COOPERATION OF ALL PARTIES. CALLAGHAN ALSO CLAIMED THAT HE TOLD EYTAN THAT ISRAELI ACTIONS HAD BADLY DAMAGED NOT ONLY UNIPIL BUT POSSIBLE FUTURE ROLE OF UN IN PEACEKEEPING OPERATIONS.

5. I THEN TOLD BUTROS THAT IN HIGHLY SIGNIFICANT CONVERSATION WITH UNDER SECRETARY EAGLEBURGER, ISRAELI AMBASSADOR ARENS HAD SPELLED OUT A LITTLE MORE CLEARLY SOME OF THE THINGS ISRAELIS HAD IN MIND. ARENS HAD TOLD EAGLEBURGER THAT ISRAELIS DID NOT INTEND TO REMAIN ON LEBANESE TERRITORY BUT WOULD USE TERRITORY TO BARGAIN. WHEN EAGLEBURGER HAD ASKED WHAT ISRAELIS MEANT BY "GETTING OUT OF LEBANON," ARENS SAID THAT THAT WOULD HAVE TO BE WORKED OUT IN COORDINATION WITH THE UNITED STATES. HE HAD ADDED THAT ISRAELIS THOUGHT IT POSSIBLE TO HAVE "NATIVE, AUTHENTIC LEBANESE FORCES" MOVE INTO AREA. BUTROS IMMEDIATELY PRICKED UP HIS EARS. WHO, HE ASKED, BESIDES PHALANGE WERE THE ISRAELIS TALKING ABOUT? IN SAID ARENS HAD THEN MENTIONED PHALANGE, HADDAD FORCES, "PERHAPS LEBANESE ARMY" AND POSSIBLY SHIIA FORCES. BUTROS

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SAID ISRAELIS MUST UNDERSTAND THEY CANNOT SIMPLY TURN LEBANON OVER TO THE PHALANGE. ONE REASON THE PHALANGE IS STAYING ALOOF RIGHT NOW IS BECAUSE BASHIR GEMAYEL UNDERSTANDS THAT HE MUST NOT BE SEEN TO BE COLLABORATING WITH THE ISRAELIS IF HE IS GOING TO PLAY A POLITICAL ROLE IN THE AFTERMATH OF ISRAELI INVASION. BUTROS THEN SAID THAT HADDAD WAS ABSOLUTELY UNACCEPTABLE. HE HAS BECOME FOR MANY LEBANESE A TRAITOR AND A SYMBOL OF EVIL FOR COLLABORATING WITH ISRAELIS. IT MIGHT, HOWEVER, BE POSSIBLE TO WORK OUT SOMETHING INVOLVING HADDAD FORCES "WITHOUT HADDAD." (IN MY CONVERSATION WITH CALLAGHAN, UNIFIL COMMANDER HAD SPECULATED THAT ISRAELIS MIGHT ACCEPT "GETTING RID" OF HADDAD SOMEHOW AS LONG AS HADDAD FORCES WERE KEPT INTACT.) BUTROS WENT ON THAT THEY WOULD BE ACCEPTANCE OF LEBANESE ARMED FORCES IN AREAS FROM WHICH ISRAELIS WITHDREW. IT MIGHT THEN BE POSSIBLE TO INTEGRATE PHALANGE UNITS INTO THE LAF OCCUPYING FORCES. THIS, OF COURSE, WOULD BE DIFFICULT AS BASHIR WOULD BE RELUCTANT TO GIVE UP ANY CONTROL OVER HIS FORCES. IT MIGHT ALSO BE POSSIBLE TO INTEGRATE SOME OF AMAL (SHIIA) MILITIA AND EVEN SOME MILITIAS FROM THE NATIONAL MOVEMENT, E.G. WALID JUMBLATT'S PSP. HE CONCLUDED THAT HE WOULD LIKE TO DISCUSS OUR CONVERSATION LATER TONIGHT WITH PRESIDENT SARKIS. BUTROS IS AFRAID THAT WHAT ISRAELIS REALLY HAVE IN MIND IS FURTHER DE FACTO PARTITION OF LEBANON INTO SEVERAL PARTS AND HE BELIEVES GOL AND USG MUST WORK IN THE OPPOSITE DIRECTION, TO PRESERVE LEBANON AS A SINGLE ENTITY. HE PROMISED THAT NOTHING HE HAD SAID WOULD GO FARTHER THAN SARKIS AND THAT HE WOULD FULLY PROTECT CONFIDENTIALITY OF ARENS/EAGLEBURGER CONVERSATION.

6. BUTROS THEN UNDERLINED GREAT IMPORTANCE GOL ATTACHED TO HABIB VISIT. WE DISCUSSED POSSIBLE ARRANGEMENTS (SEPTTEL). CONVERSATION TERMINATED WITH AGREEMENT TO TALK TOMORROW.
DILLON

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